

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 104319

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DRAFTED BY AF/I:DWKEOGH:SJC

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O 301919Z APR 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY RABAT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SECTO 11193 ACTION SECSTATE 30 APR
QUOTE

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DEPT FOR S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S REMARKS IN MONROVIA

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S EXTENDED AFTER
DINNER REMARKS AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY IN MONROVIA ON FRIDAY
APR 30AT 9:00 P. M LOCAL TIME.

2. THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY TRANSLATE THIS TEXT
INFO FRENCH AND ASSURE DISTRIBUTION IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH TO
ALL AFRICAN POSTS AS APPROPRIATE. TEXT SHOULD BE HANDED OVER BY
THE AMBASSADOR UPON RECEIPT, PREFERABLY TO THE CHIEF OF STATE.

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PAGE 02 STATE 104319

3. ALL OTHER DIPLOMATIC POSTS SHOULD RECEIVE THE TEXT ROUTINELY
BY WIRELESS FILE.

4. THERE SHOULD BE NO SPECIFIC BRIEFINGS OF THE PRESS OR CONGRESS

OR EMBASSIES SINCE THIS IS ESSENTIALLY AN EXTENSIVE TOAST, NOT
A MAJOR SPEECH.

5. TEXT MAY BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS WHEN READY, BUT SHOULD BE
EMBARGOED FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL TIME OF DELIVERY 9:00 P.M.
MONROVIA TIME, APRIL 30.

BEGIN TEXT:

REMARKS BY
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

AMERICAN AND AFRICA

AMERICAN AND AFRICA

MONROVIA APRIL 30, 1976

MIDWAY THROUGH MY AFRICAN VISIT, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME
OF WHAT I HAVE LEARNED, AND THE CONVICTIONS WE BRING TO THE RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENT FORD HAS SENT ME TO THIS CONTINENT TO WITNESS FIRST-
HAND THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA FOR NATIONAL DIGNITY,
RACIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC ADVANCE. I BRING FRIENDSHIP AND THE
STRONG CONVICTION THAT THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA HAVE MUCH TO
TO DO TOGETHER IN BUILDING PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

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PAGE 03 STATE 104319

I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY MY DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS.
I BELIEVE THAT MY JOURNEY IS LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW
AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THIS CONTINENT. WE WILL NOT BE DEFLECTED
BY ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE WITH WHAT IS BEING ACHIEVED. THE PROMISE
OF THIS EFFORT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO
AFRICA.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD OF US ARE ARDUOUS AND LONG. THEY WILL
REQUIRE A MUTUAL EFFORT OF UNDERSTANDING TO OVERCOME THE LEGACIES
OF THE PAST. WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE THIS EFFORT TO BRING INTO
BEING TOGETHER WITH YOU, THE DREAMS OF OUR NATIONS FOR A BETTER
AND MORE SECURE LIFE.

AMERICA'S OWN MORAL VALUES SUMMON US TO THIS POLICY. TWO
HUNDRED YEARS AGO THE UNITED STATES WON ITS INDEPENDENCE.
HAVING THROWN OFF THE BURDENS OF COLONIALISM, AMERICANS DETER-
MINED NEVER TO FALL UNDER THE YOKE OF DESPOTISM AGAIN. IN THAT WE
HAVE SUCCEEDED. MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE RESOLVED TO BUILD FOR PEACE,
EQUALITY AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

IT IS FITTING THAT I SPEAK OF THESE VALUES AND CONCERNS HERE
IN THIS CITY NAMED FOR PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE, WHO CONSOLIDATED
AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE, AND HERE IN LIBERIA WHOSE PEOPLE PROUDLY
PROCLAIM, "THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE." THOUGH SEPARATED
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PAGE 04 STATE 104319

BY AN OCEAN, THE TIDES OF HISTORY AGAIN DRAW US TOGETHER.
AMERICAN AND LIBERIANS REMAIN WHAT OUR ANCESTORS WERE-- PROUD
AND FREE PEOPLES.

FOR ALMOST A CENTURY AND A HALF SINCE COMMODORE PERRY'S
SHIP BROUGHT THE FIRST PIONEERS OF FREEDOM TO THESE SHORES THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ENJOYED A RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERIANS
UNIQUE IN OUR ASSOCIATION WITH AFRICA. THOSE WHO LEFT AMERICA TO
FOUND LIBERIA DID SO TO IMPLEMENT A PRINCIPLE VITAL TO OUR NATIONS
TODAY, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY.

THE UNITED STATES FOR DECADES HAS BEEN PROUD TO COOPERATE IN

THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERIA.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO CONTINUE TO DO SO.

THUS OUR NATIONS ARE BOUND BY HISTORY, BY SHARED VALUES, AND
BY A COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT TWO NATIONS CAN WORK
TOGETHER CLOSELY WITH MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE IMPERATIVES OF
SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL DIGNITY.

THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE IMPELLED THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A
VIGOROUS AND POSSIBLY DECISIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF
DECOLONIZATION. WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY DEFENDED THE BASIC MORAL
IMPERATIVES OF RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. WE LAUNCHED THE

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PAGE 05 STATE 104319

GREAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORT OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR NEW
NATIONS; WE TOOK THE LEAD IN BUILDING THE MULTILATERAL INSTITU-
TIONS OF COOPERATION THAT HOLD SO MUCH PROMISE FOR SUPPORTING
AFRICAN EFFORTS. WE HAVE DONE SO IN MANY INTERNATIONAL
FORUMS AND WILL CONTINUE THIS EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS
CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT IN A FEW DAYS TIME.

TODAY, THESE SAME ISSUES DEMAND OUR ATTENTION. WE HAVE TO
DEAL BOTH WITH IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES AND LONG-RANGE NEEDS. IT
IS TIME FOR THE NATIONS OF AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES TO COMMIT
THEMSELVES TO ADVANCING OUR COMMON GOALS: SELF-DETERMINATION,
RACIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. APART, OR IN CONTENTION,
WE WILL DISSIPATE OUR EFFORTS. TOGETHER WE CAN BE TRUE TO OUR
VALUES AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES.

AFRICA'S GREATNESS AND AMERICA'S POLICY

THE STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND

AFRICA WILL HENCE FORTH BE A KEY ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. A
STABLE, JUST AND PROSPEROUS INTERNATIONAL ORDER CAN BE CONSTRUCTED
ONLY THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION
AND THE NATIONS OF THE GREAT AFRICAN CONTINENT.

THE VISITOR TO AFRICA IS AWED BY ITS IMMENSITY; BY THE
SWEEP OF ITS GREAT PLAINS; BY THE MAGNIFICENCE OF ITS GREAT RIVERS;
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PAGE 06 STATE 104319

AND BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HERE IS WHERE MAN HAD HIS ORIGINS. THE
COLONIAL STEREOTYPE OF BLACK AFRICA IS A PLACE DEVOID OF HISTORY IS
DISPELLED BY AN AWARENESS THAT MODERN AFRICA IS BUILDING ON
THE RICH TRADITIONS OF ANCIENT AFRICAN STATES: OF GHANA, MALI,
KANEM-BORNU, SONGHAY, BENIN, THE ZIMBABWE CULTURE, ETHIOPIA
AND OTHERS. BEFORE AND DURING THE COLONIAL ERA, MOST OF THE REST
OF THE WORLD WAS UNAWARE OF THE TRUE NATURE OF AFRICA, WHICH TO
OUTSIDERS REMAINED A LAND OF MYSTERY WELL INTO THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY. BUT AS WAS SO DRAMATICALLY MADE CLEAR WITHIN FIFTEEN
YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AFRICA'S COLONIAL PERIOD WAS ONLY
A BRIEF EPISODE IN THE ONWARD MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS
CONTINENT.

IN 1880, THE EMINENT LIBERIAN EDUCATOR EDWARD BLYDEN
SAID: "AFRICA IS NO VAST ISLAND SEPARATED BY AN IMMENSE OCEAN
FROM OTHER PORTIONS OF THE GLOBE, AND CUT OFF
THROUGHOUT THE AGES FROM THE MEN WHO HAVE MADE AND INFLUENCED
THE DESTINIES OF MANKIND. SHE HAS BEEN CLOSELY CONNECTED,
BOTH AS SOURCE AND NOURISHER, WITH SOME OF THE MOST POTENT IN-
FLUENCES WHICH HAVE AFFECTED FOR GOOD THE HISTORY OF THE

WORLD."

BLYDEN'S PERCEPTIVE OBSERVATION APPLIES TODAY EVEN MORE THAN IT
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PAGE 07 STATE 104319

DID A CENTURY AGO. AT NO TIME IN HISTORY HAVE WE BEEN MORE AWARE
OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL NATIONS. AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES
ARE LINKED BY REAL INTERESTS AND COMMON CONCERNS.

POLITICALLY, WE SHARE A DEDICATION TO PEACE, NATIONAL DIGNITY
AND RACIAL JUSTICE.

AMERICA'S HISTORIC IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS IS
DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF TWENTY-THREE MILLION
BLACK AMERICANS--AND IN THE MORAL SYMPATHY OF 200 MILLION AMERICANS.

THE ASSERTION OF BLACK NATIONHOOD IN AFRICA HAS COINCIDED WITH A
NEW AFFIRMATION OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN THE
UNITED STATES. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE REINFORCED EACH OTHER AND
HAVE ADDED A PROFOUND MORAL STRENGTH TO THE BONDS BETWEEN US.

ECONOMICALLY, WE EACH HAVE A STAKE IN EACH OTHER'S SUCCESS AND
DEVELOPMENT, FOR OUR INTERDEPENDENCE CAN BE A VEHICLE FOR COMMON
PROGRESS. OUR MUTUAL TRADE IS GROWING RAPIDLY; YOUR EXPORTS ARE
REACHING THE AMERICAN MARKET AT A RATE APPROACHING SOME SIX BILLION
DOLLARS ANNUALLY. AFRICA'S IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AS A
PRODUCER OF ENERGY AND COMMODITIES IS OBVIOUS. AND AMERICAN INVE-
STMENT IN BLACK AFRICA SINCE ITS NEW ERA OF INDEPENDENCE HAS
MORE THAN QUADRUPLLED, TO OVER ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

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PAGE 08 STATE 104319

WE ARE BOTH AWARE THAT THE PROSPERITY OF OUR PEOPLES CANNOT BE

SUSTAINED UNLESS THE GLOBAL ECONOMY IS EQUITABLE, EFFICIENT
AND EXPANDING.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF COMMON INTERESTS, LET ME TAKE UP
WITH YOU NOW SOME OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNITED STATES POLICY
TOWARD AFRICA.

FIRST, THE UNITED STATES UNAMBIGUOUSLY SUPPORTS AFRICA'S
STRUGGLE TO PERFECT ITS INDEPENDENCE. AFRICA DID NOT FIGHT ITS
LONG BATTLE FOR LIBERATION FROM COLONIAL RULE ONLY TO SURRENDER IT
AGAIN TO EXTERNAL DOMINATION THAT MAY TAKE DECADES MORE TO OVER-
COME. THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO BLOC TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD, NOR
PARAMOUNT INFLUENCE IN THIS CONTINENT. WE BELIEVE THAT NO OTHER
COUNTRY SHOULD DO SO. AFRICANS MUST DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.
THE NEW AFRICA MUST BE FREE OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY.

AFRICAN UNITY IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL. THOSE WHO WOULD DIVIDE
AFRICA--EITHER BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS OR BETWEEN FACTIONS--WOULD
DIMINISH ITS PROMISE, DISSIPATE ITS ENERGIES IN CONTENTION, AND OPEN
THE WAY FOR THE RETURN OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION. THE END RESULT
IS BOUND TO BE DOMINATED BY ONE OUTSIDE POWER OR DIVISION OF
THE CONTINENT INTO COMPETING BLOCS. IT IS DEEPLY IN OUR COMMON
INTEREST THAT NEITHER TAKE PLACE. THE UNITED STATES CALLS ON ALL
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PAGE 09 STATE 104319

NATIONS TO AFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE OF AFRICAN UNITY. IT WILL NOT
IMPORT GREAT POWER CONFLICT INTO AFRICA. IT WILL OPPOSE THOSE WHO
SEEK TO DO SO.

SECOND, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS
WITH ALL INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATIONS. WE, AS ANY COUNTRY, HAVE

OUR PREFERENCES AMONG POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

BUT WE ARE PREPARED FOR COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH ANY GOVERNMENT

OF AFRICA WHICH REPRESENTS AFRICAN PRINCIPLES AND ASPIRATIONS.

OUR CONCERN ARISES ONLY WHEN AN AFRICAN MOVEMENT IS EXPLOITED

BY OUTSIDE POWERS FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.

IN THIS CONTEXT, LET ME MENTION ANGOLA. THE UNITED STATES HOLDS

NO ENMITY TOWARD ANY AFRICAN FACTION OR GOVERNMENT. THEIR

IDEOLOGY OR SOCIAL SYSTEM IS NOT PARAMOUNT CONCERN TO US; IT

IS FOR EACH COUNTRY TO CHOOSE FOR ITSELF. WE DID NOT OPPOSE THE

COMING TO POWER OF FRELIMO, A MARXIST MOVEMENT, IN MOZAMBIQUE

BECAUSE WE CONSIDERED IT AN ESSENTIALLY INDIGENOUS EVOLUTION.

WE RECOGNIZED THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE IMMEDIATELY UPON

INDEPENDENCE, AND WE BRING NO SENSE OF ACRIMONY TO OUR BILATERAL

DEALINGS.

IN THE CASE OF ANGOLA, THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED ALL THREE

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PAGE 10 STATE 104319

ANGOLAN NATIONALIST GROUPS AS LEGITIMATE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVE-

MENTS. WE REGRET THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFF-

ERENCES PEACEFULLY AND WITHOUT OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERVENTION.

WE COULD WORK WITH THE MPLA IN ANGOLA IN THE SAME SPIRIT AS WITH

FRELIMO IN MOZAMBIQUE. WHAT CONCERNS US IS THE PRESENCE IN ANGOLA

OF LARGE FOREIGN FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THE CONTINENT. THIS IS BOUND

TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF NON-

ALIGNMENT AND THE PRINCIPLE OF AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION.

WHAT CAN BE THE PURPOSE OF 15,000 TROOPS OF AN EXTERNAL EXPEDI-

TIONARY FORCE NOW THAT ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES HAVE WITHDRAWN
FROM ANGOLA? HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT BE CONSIDERED AFRICAN IF
IT HAS STATIONED ON ITS SOIL A LARGE FORCE FROM CUBA.

THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTEREST IN SEEING ANGOLA REMAIN A
FOCUS OF CONTENTION. WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THAT COUNTRY. WE CAN
DEAL WITH IT IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT. WE ARE WILLING IN PRINCIPLE
TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN AUTHORITIES WITH A VIEW
TOWARD NORMALIZING OUR RELATIONS AND SEEKING MEANS OF COOPERATING --
INCLUDING ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE WISH ANGOLA WELL AS A UNIFIED
AND INDEPENDENT STATE. BUT BEFORE WE CAN GO FAR DOWN THAT ROAD,
WE WANT TO KNOW ANGOLA'S INTENTION WITH RESPECT TO THE
PRESENCE OF FOREIGN FORCES ON ITS SOIL.
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PAGE 11 STATE 104319

THIRD, THE UNITED STATES PLEDGES ITSELF UNAMBIGUOUSLY ON THE
SIDE OF MAJORITY RULE, RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA. A FEW DAYS AGO, IN LUSAKA, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD,
I ANNOUNCED A NEW AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO THESE GOALS. AS PART OF AN
INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, I PUT FORWARD A CONCRETE TEN-POINT PROGRAM.
IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM, WE SHALL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE
PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA-- AND WITH
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE ALSO CALLED ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN PURPOSES BY
WORKING WITH US IN BRINGING MAJORITY RULE TO RHODESIA.

FOURTH, THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP AFRICAN NATIONS DEVELOP
AND STRENGTHEN THEIR ECONOMIES. AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT GOALS ARE
WIDENING OPPORTUNITY, SOCIAL PROGRES, SELF-RELIANCE. THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS VIEWED THESE GOALS WITH THE GREATEST SYMPATHY.

WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR SUPPORT IN BILATERAL PROGRAMS AND IN OUR
EFFORTS TO BUILD A NEW ERA OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS.

LET ME DISCUSS IN FURTHER DETAIL OUR APPROACH TO THE CRUCIAL
ECONOMIC CHALLENGE -- A CHALLENGE WHICH WILL REMAIN WITH US FOR
THE LONG TERM.

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PAGE 12 STATE 104319

THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

AFRICA HAS BROKEN THE SHACKLES OF THE PAST AND IS DETERMINED TO
REMAIN FREE. AFRICA IS DEEPLY ENGAGED IN THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE
RACIAL JUSTICE. BUT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST MUST BE
CONSOLIDATED BY THE BUILDING OF A PROSPEROUS TOMORROW WHICH RAISES
THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND THE HORIZONS OF LIFE FOR ALL THE
CONTINENT'S PEOPLES.

THE TASK AHEAD IS FORMIDABLE -- IN SOME PARTS OF AFRICA,
STAGGERING. BUT AFRICA BRINGS TO THE TASK GREAT RESOURCES,
VAST POTENTIAL AND THE PROSPECT THAT IN THE FUTURE AFRICAN
ENERGIES WILL BE FREER TO CONCENTRATE ON POSITIVE GOALS.

OUR POLICY TOWARD AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS GUIDED BY
THESE PRINCIPLES:

-- FIRST, AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT MUST REST ON A FOUNDATION OF
ECONOMIC SECURITY. NO NATION CAN PLAN ITS FUTURE EFFECTIVELY OR
MOBILIZE ITS EFFORT IF ITS INCOME IS BUFFETED CONTINUALLY BY
EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FORCES OVER WHICH IT HAS LITTLE OR NO INFLUENCE.
THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IN AFRICA, WHERE THE EXPORT EARNINGS OF

MANY NATIONAL ECONOMIES DEPEND UPON GLOBAL MARKET CONDITIONS FOR

A SINGLE COMMODITY AND WHERE HIGHER ENERGY PRICES OR INFLATION

ABROAD CAN RAISE THE PRICE OF IMPORTS TO PROHIBITIVE LEVELS.

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PAGE 13 STATE 104319

-- SECOND, AFRICA MUST HAVE AN EQUITABLE VOICE AND ROLE IN

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

THAT SHAPE THE GLOBAL ECONOMY. ALL NATIONS MUST HAVE A STAKE IN THE

GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM IF THEY ARE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITIES

FOR ITS ORDERLY EVOLUTION. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY BELIEVES

THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY CANNOT BE THE EXCLUSIVE PRESERVE OF THE

RICHER NATIONS. AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD DEMANDS A NEW ERA OF ECONOMIC

COOPERATION.

-- THIRD, THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO

THE PLIGHT OF THE WORLD'S POOREST NATIONS --MANY OF WHICH ARE

IN AFRICA. IN MANY COUNTRIES THE ECONOMIC ISSUE IS SIMPLE

HUMAN SURVIVAL. AND IT IS THOSE VERY COUNTRIES THAT HAVE BEEN MOST

DEVASTATED BY THE MASSIVE AND ABRUPT RISE IN OIL PRICES. THIS

HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT, EVEN IMPOSSIBLE, TO OBTAIN MODERN FERTILIZERS

FOR EXPANDING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND TO AFFORD SUFFICIENT

FUEL FOR MECHANIZATION. SPECIAL ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN OF THE NEEDS

OF THE POOREST.

LAST SEPTEMBER AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE UNITED STATES

PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE SERIES OF PROPOSALS FOR THE WORLD COMM-

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PAGE 14 STATE 104319

UNITY TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON A COOPER-
ATIVE BASIS. MANY OF THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND
OTHERS ARE MOVING AHEAD. THESE MEASURES WILL HAVE A DIRECT IMPACT
ON AFRICA. SPECIFICALLY:

FIRST, TO ENSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY, AFRICA CAN LOOK FORWARD
TO MORE STABLE EXPORT EARNINGS AS A RESULT OF OUR PROPOSAL
TO ENLARGE THE COMPENSATORY FINANCE FACILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL
MONETARY FUND, TO WHICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL NOW HAVE
GREATER ACCESS. TO STABILIZE MARKET CONDITIONS FOR KEY RAW
MATERIALS, THE UNITED STATES HAS SIGNED AND SUBMITTED FOR CONGRE-
SSIONAL APPROVAL INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS ON TIN AND
COFFEE. WE STAND READY TO DISCUSS

OTHERS. AND WE HAVE PROPOSED PRODUCER-CONSUMER FORUMS TO
DISCUSS MEASURES TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR ALL KEY COMMODITIES.

SECOND, TO ENHANCE AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC
SYSTEM, WE HAVE REDUCED THE BARRIERS TO AFRICAN EXPORTS INTO THE
UNITED STATES MARKET BY INSTITUTING A GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF TARIFF
PREFERENCES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE HAVE TABLED OFFERS TO
REDUCE TARIFFS FOR TROPICAL PRODUCTS WHICH ARE OF SPECIAL
INTEREST TO AFRICA AND WE ARE PREPARED TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO

THE INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE MULTILATERAL
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PAGE 15 STATE 104319

TRADE NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDERWAY IN GENEVA. TO FOSTER INDUSTRIALI-
ZATION, WE INTEND TO MAKE AN INITIAL CONTRIBUTION OF \$15 MILLION
TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND; AND WE WILL BE WORKING WITH

OTHERS TO SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY INSTITUTE TO HELP
DEVELOPING NATIONS DEVISE EFFECTIVE ENERGY PROGRAMS OF THEIR
OWN.

THIRD, TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC JUSTICE, AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS EMPHASIZE THE POOREST COUNTRIES AND THE
RURAL POOR.; WE PLAN TO CONTRIBUTE \$200 MILLION TO THE INTERNATIONAL
FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE WILL PROVIDE 60 PERCENT OF
THE 10 MILLION TON FOOD AID TARGET ESTABLISHED BY THE WORLD FOOD
CONFERENCE. IN ADDITION, THE IMF HAS APPROVED OUR PORPOSAL FOR
A TRUST FUND FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE FOR POOR
COUNTRIES.

THE RECORD IS PROMISING. BUT THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD
ARE ENORMOUS, AND MUCH WORK REMAINS BEFORE US:

-- WE NEED TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF THE CRUSHING INTERNATIONAL
DEBT BURDEN WHICH MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES SUFFER AS A RESULT OF
HIGH OIL PRICES AND DRASTIC SWINGS IN GLOBAL COMMODITY MARKETS.

-- WE NEED SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS TO FOSTER THE INVESTMENT

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PAGE 16 STATE 104319

NECESSARY FOR AFRICA'S GROWTH -- ARRANGEMENTS THAT BOTH RESPECT
NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND ASSURE PREDICTABILITY AND FAIR TREATMENT
FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS.

-- WE MUST STIMULATE THE FLOW OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY TO AFRICA,
TO PROMOTE GROWTH AND DIVERSIFY NATIONAL ECONOMIES.

-- WE NEED TO MITIGATE THE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF FLUCTUATING
PRICES FOR THE KEY RAW MATERIALS ON WHICH SO MANY AFRICAN
ECONOMIES RELY.

-- WE MUST ENHANCE THE WORLD COMMUNITY'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO NATURAL DISASTERS, LIKE THE SAHEL DROUGHT, WHICH CAN WREAK VAST TRAGEDY ON A SCALE OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

-- AND, WE NEED TO CONTINUE EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP TO THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY TO REALIZE AFRICA'S GREAT POTENTIAL FOR EXPANDED FOOD PRODUCTION.

IN A FEW DAYS, AT THE UNCTAD CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI, I WILL PRESENT A PACKAGE OF AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH WILL ADDRESS MANY OF THESE ISSUES. WE ARE DEDICATED TO CONTINUING THE COOPERATIVE SPIRIT WHICH WAS FORGED AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION. WE EXPECT OTHERS TO MEET US IN THIS SAME SPIRIT -- WITHOUT CONFRONTATION OR UNREALISTIC DEMANDS. IN THIS WAY THE MOMENTUM THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN RECENT MONTHS CAN BE MAINTAINED AND ACCELERATED.

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PAGE 17 STATE 104319

I HAVE SET FORTH, ON THE SOIL OF AFRICA, CONCRETE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE RANGE OF ASPIRATIONS THAT AFRICA AND WE SHARE -- POLITICAL, MORAL AND ECONOMIC. I SHALL ADVANCE OTHERS BEFORE I RETURN TO AMERICA.

OUR COOPERATION IS OFFERED FREELY IN OUR COMMON INTEREST. ON MY TRIP, I HAVE HEARD THE VOICES OF AFRICA, FORCEFULLY AND ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED. THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS THOSE VOICES AND WILL RESPOND IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RESPONSIBLE AND POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP THAT WE SEEK. AFRICA'S PRIMARY CONCERN IS FOR NATIONAL DIGNITY AND DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THESE GOALS BUT BEYOND THEM HAS AN OVERRIDING CONCERN FOR A JUST PEACE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE WORLD. IF WE ARE TO WORK TOGETHER, WE MUST

UNDERSTAND THAT OUR AIMS ARE CONGRUENT, AND ENCOURAGE EACH OTHER
THROUGH MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WILL RESPOND TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF FRIENDS; BUT THEY WILL
RESIST PRESSURE OR CONTINUAL RHETORICAL ATTACKS.

IF AFRICAN NATIONS DESCRIBE AMERICA AS INHERENTLY HOSTILE;
IF THE DIGNITY AND RESPECT WHICH SHOULD MARK THE DEALINGS BETWEEN
MATURE PEOPLES IS LACKING; IF NON-ALIGNMENT COMES TO BE DEFINED
AS AUTOMATICALLY OPPOSING ALL U.S. POLICIES, THERE CANNOT BE THE

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PAGE 18 STATE 104319

NECESSARY STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT IN AMERICA FOR A NEW AND MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL ERA OF RELATIONS.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA WILL
ALWAYS AGREE. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE DIFFERENCES, EVEN AMONG THE
BEST OF FRIENDS. BUT WHEN WE DISAGREE, LET US DO SO WITHOUT RANCOR,
AND WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING OUR
FRIENDSHIP. LET US ALWAYS CONSULT EARLY ON ISSUES WHICH COULD
DIVIDE US, TO ENSURE OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TO REFLECT OUR
MUTUAL RESPECT. LET US MAKE OUR COMMON AIMS THE BASIS FOR
PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

MY COUNTRY'S RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF
STABILITY IS CONSISTENT WITH, AND REINFORCES, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF
AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE AND AFRICAN UNITY; THE EXTERNAL INTERVENTION,
WHICH IS OUR CONCERN, CAN ONLY DIMINISH AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION
AND UNDERMINE THE INTEGRITY OF THE CONTINENT. SIMILARLY, AFRICA'S
DRIVE FOR DEVELOPMENT ACCORDS WITH OUR OWN INTEREST IN A NEW ERA

OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION; WE SEEK IN OUR OWN INTEREST TO
PROMOTETHE INTERESTS OF ALL NATIONS -- PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS,
DEVELOPEDAND DEVELOPING, LARGE AND SMALL.

AND SO, I WILL RETURN TO AMERICA TO CONVEY MY FRESH AND DEEP

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PAGE 19 STATE 104319

IMPRESSIONS OF THIS CONTINENT'S NEEDSAND THIS CONTINENT'S
POTENTIAL AND WITH A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF
STRENGTHENED TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA.

WITH RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S IDEALS AND MOTIVES, WITH
DETERMINATION TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME, WE CAN MAKE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION A MODEL FOR COOPERATION AND PROGRESS
IN THE WORLD.

IN THE DECADES TO COME, A GREAT DRAMA WILL PLAY ITSELF OUT
ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE NEW AFRICA WILL TAKE ITS DESTINY
FIRMLY INTO ITS OWN HANDS, AND WILL MAKE ITS FUNDAMENTAL
CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO JOIN
WITH YOU AS THIS HISTORICAL
PROCESS UNFOLDS. THE STAKES ARE HIGH, THE TASK IS IMMENSE, BUT
SUCCESS WILL COME IF WE SEEK IT TOGETHER IN THE SERVICE OF
HUMANITY.

AS WE CONTEMPLATEOUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS WE CAN LOOK TO OUR
RELATIONS WITH LIBERIA AS AN OUTSTA DING EXAMPLE OF COOPERATION.
MY COUNTRY IS ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH PRESIDENT
TOLBERT -- A STATESMAN AND THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE MODERNIZA-
TION AND INTEGRATION OF LIBERIAN SOCIETY.

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PAGE 20 STATE 104319

TODAY IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT
PRESIDENT FORD'S PERSONAL INVITATION TO MAKE A STATE VISIT DURING
THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR. HIS VISIT WILL FURTHER UNDERLINE TH
IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL HISTORIC MEANING
FOR AMERICANS.

BUT THE TRUEST MEANING OF OUR BICENTENNIAL IS TO CELEBRATE NOT
MERELY OUR PAST BUT OUR FUTURE. THE HIGHEST AIM OF FOREIGN POLICY
MUST BE TO SHAPE THE COURSE OF HISTORY ACCORDING TO OUR HOPES
AND MORAL ENDS. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
AFRICA CAN NOW ENTER ONE OF ITS MOST FRUITFUL AND SUCCESSFUL
PERIODS. IT IS UP TO US, THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND AMERICA. THERE
IS SO MUCH TO BE ACHIEVED.

IN THIS SPIRIT OF HOPE, I RAISE MY GLASS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
AND OFFER A TOAST:

-- TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT,

-- TO THE HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES

AND LIBERIA,

-- AND TO THE TRIUMPHS THAT LIE AHEAD OF US IN THE GREAT

COLABORATION BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.
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